1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

All the material elaboration went into the making of paraphernalia. With amazing ingenuity the Papago used ocotillo wands, cactus ribs, raw cotton, and deerhide to construct handsome effigies for their dancers to carry. Imitation birds, clouds, mountains, rainbows, and even stuffed deer mounted on a platform were properties for the dancers of the great prayer-stick festival. 293

DANCING

There were several styles of dancing, which will be mentioned in detail in connection with each ceremony. At the rain dance, most widespread and popular of all, the dancers clasped hands and revolved in a circle, counterclockwise. At the girl's puberty dance there were two rows of dancers who stepped backward and forward facing each other. At the prayer-stick festival the dancing was in Pueblo style, the men stamping with alternate feet, the women bouncing slightly, with knees bent and elbows held close to the body. 535

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The Papago choice of musical instruments was very small. To accompany a song they had a basket drum, which was nothing more than a common house utensil turned upside down—"because we were poor and did not carry much with us." They had gourd rattles, originally any dried gourd, its stem used as handle and its own seeds within it making the crepitation. They had scraping sticks—notched sticks, slightly curved, over which another stick was rubbed with a rattling noise. But they elaborated a surprising number of techniques with these rudimentary instruments. 534

The basket drum could be either struck or rubbed. It could be struck by the hand to obtain a dull sound or by a stick to get a sharp one. A stick could be rubbed over the surface to give a slight rattling sound, but for certain modern songs a knife is specified for this purpose. Conversely, for other songs the direction was: "a knife must not be used."

These two methods of using the basket drum, striking and rub-

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

534 bing, were generally used alternately during one song or dance. It was almost unthinkable that the extremely short songs should be sung less than four times, and usually the directions were: "Rub for the first two repetitions; tap for the last two." Special dance movements corresponded to the rubbing and the tapping.

The notched stick also allowed for variations. It might be short, with the notches far apart, producing a brief, harsh scraping sound, interrupted by long pauses. The stick might be long, when the notches would be far apart and, naturally, there would be more scraping and fewer pauses. Both kinds were used in the so-called "scraping-stick songs," which were to promote growth and drive away evil. This combination of long and short strokes is the nearest Papago approach to an orchestra. But the notches may be close together; in this case the resulting sound is much less harsh and broken. Such a stick is used for curing sore eyes, caused by the little [153] blind man (*pihuri*). The scraper for the notched stick is ordinarily a short peeled stem of greasewood. But for the cleansing dance and the deer-sickness dance it must without fail be a deer's bone. The main reason for this is magical, but the sharp bone makes a sound very different from that made by the rounded stick.

There are several techniques for scraping. The motion is usually downward, but in the scraping-stick songs there are both downward and upward strokes, resulting in a sort of rhythm. In the curing song the stroke must be always down so as "to brush away the sickness." The effect is more staccato and monotonous. The scraping stick may be rested upon the ground or upon a basket drum, which acts as resonator. Here, also, the motion varies with each two repetitions of the song. For the first two repetitions there is no scraping; the stick may be either rubbed on the basket or tapped. For the second two there is scraping, in a specified direction.

The gourd rattle allows of less variation. The original faint sound made by the seeds has been succeeded by the louder clash of pebbles, which are inserted in the gourd. Some up-to-date song leaders have discarded the gourd and placed the pebbles in a small baking-powder can, through which a stick is thrust for a handle. The difference in sound quality is startling.

Only two motions are used in manipulating the rattle—it may

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

be held horizontally and rotated counterclockwise, or it may be 534
jerked up and down vertically. The first motion gives a blurred, continuous sound; the second, a series of clashes. Even a tyro can recognize the difference and at a distance can tell by it whether the rattle is horizontal, indicating that the dancers are walking, or vertical, when they are leaping. The shamans, whose special instrument the rattle is, have worked out even greater variations in the shaking technique.

SINGING

The writer is not equipped to comment on Papago musical style; 533
this part of the work must await the analysis of the records taken. But a few observations on the manner of the singing may be of interest.

Voice production in singing includes almost all the tricks forbidden to the white student of the art. Singers take breath at any point they wish, each person's choice being a different one. They leap from head notes to chest notes and back again. They slur notes, beginning a quarter tone or more away and ending as far off in the other direction. The round, rich tone desired by our singers is no part of their scheme. Hoarseness, falsetto, and piercing yells are all admitted. The definition of a good singer refers, not to the quality of his voice, but to his memory for songs. But though the sounds vary, the rhythm is always true. The mass of undisciplined voices, pulsing in perfect time with the motions of the scraping stick has its own effect. The scraping-stick motions change constantly, the players retarding and accelerating according to the words of the song, and the singers and dancers follow them.

In a large chorus there is a very rudimentary approach to harmony. A few women who are considered specially skilled maintain a note a third or so above the keynote of the song and hold it without variation. "The ladies straighten out the song," said a girl who was trying to learn the trick. Miss Densmore has mentioned this technique.[9]

[9] Densmore, p. 14.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

announce their arrival, as after a war party. The small boys came out to meet them with bull roarers,[11] which imitate the rain coming from the ocean. The old women came out in a group, begging: "Give me salt," and each man threw them gifts.

Each owned the salt which he had brought, except for two handfuls, which he must contribute to the common pile to be used for that evening's ceremonies. The rest he took to his house, where his family had spread a mat in the sun to receive it. Each member of the family took a handful, from which he breathed in to receive its power, and then the salt was dried; finally it was used or traded.

The family of each neophyte had prepared a shelter where he could pass the days of his purification, and his wife or mother made the new clay dishes which he was to use. An old man had been selected to act as his guardian. This man met him and conducted him immediately to the shelter, where he spent the day in sleep. That night a public purification was held, for in this instance the sixteen days of retreat followed the purification ceremony instead of preceding it. Since the salt pilgrimage usually took place in summer, the ceremony was held out-of-doors. A fire was built to the east of the council house and in the intervening space was placed a pile of salt, to which each pilgrim contributed two handfuls. If the men brought tokens, such as seaweed and shells, these were ranged beside the fire and, in some villages, prayer sticks were placed with them.

At the north of the fire sat the older men who had made the pilgrimage more than four times and who needed no purification but were competent to purify others. They were the singers of the evening and were furnished with scraping sticks and basket drums. Opposite them, at the south, sat the returned neophytes while the spectators sat at the east and the shaman at the west, ouside the door of the ceremonial house.

POSITIONS AT SALT PURIFICATION

The keeper of the smoke had charge of the ceremonies. He first passed a ceremonial cigarette around the circle to the right, each

[11] Cf. Zuni, Stevenson, 1901-2, p. 354.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

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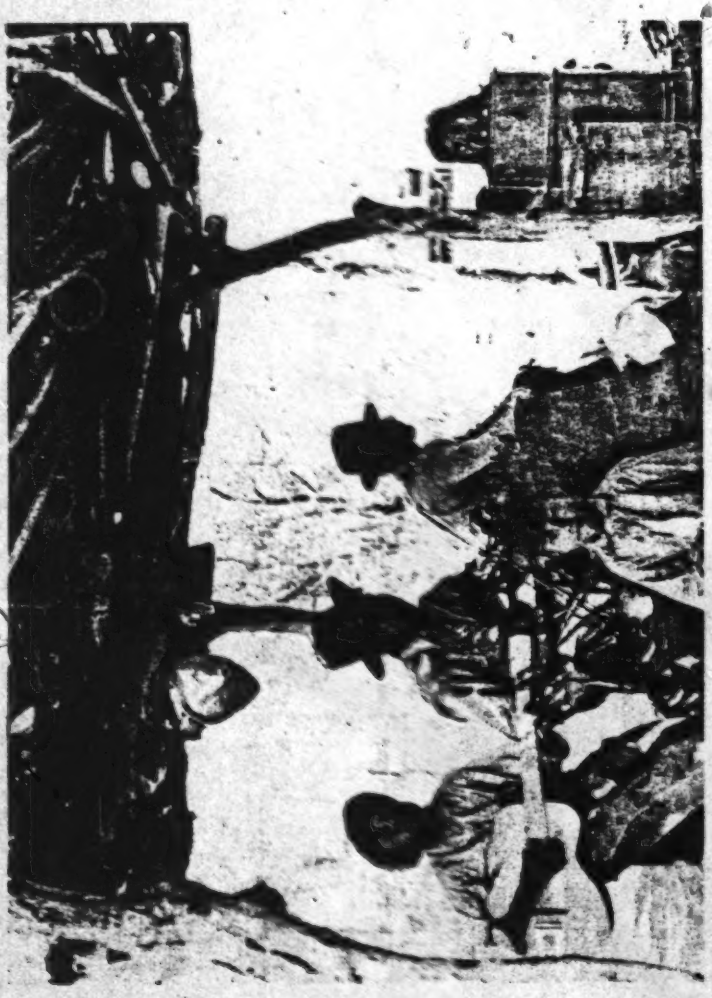

PLATE XVIII

PAPAGO LADS MAKING MUSIC UNDER THE RAMADA

Jean Christy

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

Preparation for Use as Vessels and Rattles

Gourds were prepared for use as follows: First they were Pi Pa 415 dried thoroughly, otherwise decay would occur in the process of preparation. The bitterness was drawn out by filling with water through an opening cut at the stem end, then allowing it to stand for three days so that the fleshy interior might decay. Most of the pulp was removed by working with a stick, then the gourd refilled and again allowed to stand for three days, after which as much of the remaining pulp as possible was scraped out. This process was repeated as often as necessary, or until the vessel ceased to impart any taste of bitterness to the water allowed to stand in it. Finally, the vessel was thoroughly rinsed with water several times and was ready for use.

Sometimes gourds which had been prepared as above were baked in live embers for two or three days to harden the shell, as this made them more durable when used as containers. It also gave them a glossy appearance since the outer surface peeled off.

Gourds or their seeds were never eaten. They were used Pi Pa 415 534 for canteens, dippers, containers, storage vessels, ceremonial rattles and masks. For storing seeds, the hole made at the end of the neck was plugged with a stick. To prepare a gourd for use as a rattle the end of the neck was cut off, then cleaned as described above, and the gourd partly filled with pebbles taken from an ant hill. A wooden handle was fitted into the opening and secured with the gummy secretion of creosote bush or arrowweed. Gourds to be used as dippers or dishes were cut lengthwise by making a continuous row of holes with an awl the whole length of the fruit, then snapping it in two.

DEVIL'S CLAW

A single sowing of Devil's claw, or unicorn plant (*Martynia louisiana*), was made by both Papago and Pima, after sahuaro Pi Pa 419 harvest, and the pods gathered before frost. This was woman's [462]

6: Denamore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

(pl. 5), with which some of the most interesting legends of the Papago are associated. It is a peak in the Coyote Range. According to Lumholtz, the name Baboquivari, or Babokivari, is a Spanish corruption of Vavkivolik, meaning mountain (*vuv*) narrow around the middle (*kivolik*). When seen from the south this mountain appears to be drawn in at the base.[12]

The principal industry at Vomari is cattle raising, and the water holes are valuable, as in all desert regions. The inclosure around the water hole at Vomari village is shown in Plate 6, *c*.

Santa Rosa village was almost deserted at the time of the writer's visit, the Indians having gone to work in the fields along the Gila River. The doors of the houses were barricaded with brush (pl. 6, *a*) or with a large grinding stone. One family remained and was visited. An interesting ramada (pl. 6, *b*) was near their house.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AND THEIR USE

Four musical instruments are in use by the Papago. In some classes of songs only one instrument is used and in others it is permissible to use two sorts of instruments.

1. *Gourd rattle* (*cakot*).—This was used with the songs to bring rain and with songs used in treating the sick. No other instrument was used.

2. *Scraping sticks* (*hiohkat*).—These were in pairs, one stick being slightly curved and notched, the other smooth for rasping downward and upward across the notches. Two pairs were obtained by the writer, one having 15 notches and being about 2 feet long, the other having 11 notches and being about 18 inches long. These were used with the medicine songs that come from the ocean and in the Viikita. They were used either resting on the basket-drum or held in the hand. Their use with the basket-drum is shown in Plate 7, *a*.

3. *Basket-drum* (*tamoa*).—Any basket of medium size that was in household use could be used as a drum by inverting it on the ground and striking it with the hands. The one obtained by the writer has been used for this purpose and is 16½ inches in diameter and 5½ inches in depth. Preparatory to its use the basket was dropped on the ground in such a manner as to cause an explosive sound that could be heard a long distance. Three or four men could play this instrument at once, kneeling beside it and striking it with their hands. (Pl. 7, *b*.) Some of the men might shake a rattle with the left hand. Drum and rattle were used in the *Limo* and Bat dance.

4. *Flute*.—This instrument (pl. 1) is made of cane, the outer septums removed but the middle septum retained. Two small holes are made from the outside into the bore, one on either side of the

[12] Lumholtz, Carl, New Trails in Mexico. New York, 1912, p. 31.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

534 middle septum, and a groove or channel is cut from one hole to the other. The player places his index finger above this channel, its lower edge on a line with the lower face of the septum, thus forming a whistle. The finger, by a slight motion or adjustment, directs the air and thus forms a part of the equipment or sound-producing mechanism of the instrument. Three finger holes are made in the tube below the sound hole. The position of the fingers in producing certain tones is described on page 77 in connection with the legend concerning the origin of the instrument.

With these may be mentioned a short, flat stick which was rubbed on the surface of the basket drum with a certain class of songs. (See p. 171.)

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

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SIVARIANO GARCIA PLAYING FLUTE

[p. 4-A]

6: Densmore E-8 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

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115
516

a, Jose Panco using scraping sticks with basket resonator

b, Siveriano Garcia, Harry Encinas, and Jose Panco pounding basket drum

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X 533 A peculiarity of singing heard among the Papago consisted in the sustaining of a tone above the general trend of the melody, this tone being held by two or three women's voices for the space of perhaps three or four measures, after which the voices descended and joined the others in the remainder of the song. This was heard at a dance held in an isolated place a few miles north of Vomari. It was said that only a few women in the tribe could sing this "drone," and it appeared to be regarded as an embellishment to the melody. This peculiarity was not noted among the tribes whose tabulated analyses are here compared with the Papago but was heard once among the Pawnee, during the Morning Star ceremony. There was no opportunity to make a phonograph record of this peculiarity in either tribe. Among the Makah, Quileute, and Clayoquot, studied in 1923 and 1926, it was permissible for a woman to sing in a high monotone if she did not know the melody being sung or if she "could not carry a tune." By this means she could join the other singers. In these tribes the high monotone was known as "metal pitch." It was seldom used and was not held in high esteem.

The various classes of Papago songs appear to have more rhythmic distinction than in other tribes. For example, Owl Woman's songs used in treating the sick are characterized by a steady forcefulness of rhythm.

The words of Papago songs are always continuous throughout the melody, which is in contrast to other tribes under observation. Some songs of other tribes are sung with no words whatever, the tones being separated by means of a peculiar action of the throat, while in many songs the words are used with only part of the melody, the remainder having vocables or vowel syllables, as *ho*, *ah*, or *ay*. In three classes of songs the first word is preceded by a word or syllable which is either meaningless or obsolete. Thus the *koŏp* songs begin with *aliwĭrci*, the songs connected with expeditions to obtain salt begin with *hiciă*, and the *wakita* songs begin with *hoj*, *hoj*.

X 533 No accompaniment was used with the songs concerning Elder 534 Brother, the songs of the tiswin lodge, and the wind dance. A gourd rattle accompanied the songs for treatment of the sick and the wakita songs. Rattle and basket drum were used with the *Limo* and bat dance songs; and rasping sticks, either with or without a basket resonator, were used with the songs of expeditions to obtain salt.

X 533 The manner of shaking the rattle varies more in the Papago than in other tribes. The common rhythm is an accented and an unaccented stroke, corresponding approximately to the first and third counts of a triplex, but a doctor shakes the rattle "in accordance with the instructions received in his dream." Thus some doctors shake the rattle four times sharply before they begin to sing, while Garcia, who recorded more songs than any other Papago, preceded his singing of medicine songs with a "roll" of the rattle for a few seconds.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

Analysis.—This song consisted of three phrases, each followed by a closing period of three measures. The plaintive query expressed by the tones G sharp, F sharp, G sharp appears at the close of the three long phrases, and the same sequence persists in the last phrase, until the song ends on F sharp. The song contains only the minor triad and second, and is melodic in structure. 533X

When the boy had crossed the bridge he told his mother and her sister to follow. When they were halfway across he twisted his bow and they fell into the water. He stood on the other side and told them that he did not want them to follow because of their father's bad acts. He said they would always travel along the shore of the ocean and never be with him. They turned into two kinds of birds that run along the sand at the edge of the ocean. 539X

The boy followed his grandmother and lived with her.

The making of the first bamboo (cane) flute was described on page 62, and the singing of these flute melodies with words was mentioned on page 71. 7/1 Songs 33 and 35 were also used either as flute melodies or songs with words, being sung only if a flute was not available when the story was told. 538

FLUTE MELODY NO. 1 (P. 217)

Recorded by SIVARIANO GARCIA

Analysis.—This melody was recorded on two cylinders and the records are identical. The melody is played twice through and the latter portion is then played twice, this procedure being the same as in the singing of the old songs. Garcia played this slowly, apart from the phonographic recording, and the melody was noted by ear, with the position of the fingers when each tone was produced. The first finger of the left hand was held steadily above the upper sound hole and the various tones were produced by changes in the positions of the first three fingers of the right hand. (Pl. 1.) The melody contains the tone B-C sharp-D sharp, and G sharp below B. These tones were produced in the following manner: 533X

B	All fingers raised.
C sharp	First finger closing the upper sound hole.
D sharp	First and second fingers closing the two upper sound holes.
G sharp	First, second, and third fingers closing all the sound holes.

G sharp was less clearly given than the other tones.

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7/1 [See cat. 116 — Analyst.]

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

The hunter could not get near enough to shoot the deer. Suddenly it turned into a human being and led the hunter into the ocean. The man was gone a month. One day he returned but he was shy like a deer. Outside the village was an empty house and he went there at night, when everything was quiet. He went there and sang all night. The people asked themselves who could be doing that singing. One night they surrounded the house and a man went in. He saw a deer sitting in one corner and singing. The deer tried to run past him and escape but he said, "Don't try to run away. I do not want to hurt you. I only came to see you." They caught him and took him home. He was very thin, as he had eaten nothing but cactus fruit and other deer food for a whole month. They fed him, and after he got well he told the people that if they wanted to learn his songs they might come to the fireplace (chief's house). Night after night he sat there but no one came.

FIG. 4.—Gourd rattle

Soon afterwards there was a general "gift dance" to get food at a neighboring village and all who took part in the dance were taken ill with coughing, which is now known to be a symptom of the deer sickness. A *siátikum* attended one of the dancers and sent for this man who had lived on the food of the deer and returned with the strange new songs. He came and sang his songs, and the singers learned the songs and sang with him, but the sick man did not get any better. The *siátikum* was summoned again to see if there were some other cause for the illness. He said that a deer must be killed, skinned, and cut in quarters by an old man known to be expert in the work. He said they must also appoint four expert women to cut up and cook the deer. They must be responsible for every portion of it, even to the smallest particle of blood. Not a bone could be broken, it being required that the carcass be disjointed. If a bone were accidentally broken they must kill another deer. The meat was to be eaten by the singers who were to sing the songs for the treating of the sick. The tail of the deer was taken for use in the treatment, and all the scraps of meat were wrapped and hidden so securely that no dog, coyote, or other animal could ever find them. When this was finished all the sick people were gathered at one place, and a great crowd of spectators and the singers were there. The man who had received the songs led the singing of them and treated the sick people, stroking them with the tail of the deer. They recovered, and ever since that time the songs have been used in treating this sickness. Jose Panco is shown in Plate 15, *a*, treating a patient. In his left hand is the deer tail (pl. 15, *b*) and in his right the gourd rattle (fig. 4) with

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

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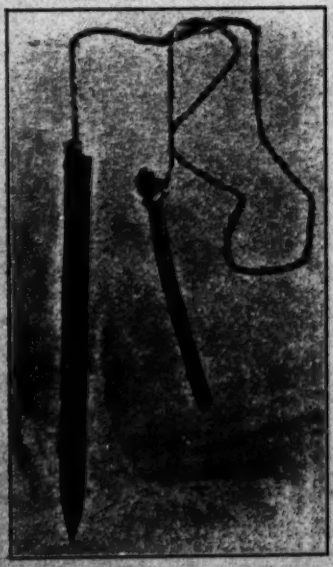
a, Jose Panco treating sick man

b, Deer tail used by Jose Panco in treating sick man



c, "Rattle-stone" used in Yuman ceremony

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

(4)

533X

A cloud on top of Evergreen Trees Mountain is singing,
A cloud on top of Evergreen Trees Mountain is standing still,
It is raining and thundering up there,
It is raining here,
Under the mountain the corn tassels are shaking,
Under the mountain the horns [30] of the child corn are glistening.

The persons taking part in the ceremony were: (1) The leaders (*Coiwada*); (2) clowns (*Navica*); (3) dancers and singers; (4) certain singers who "started new songs" (*Kokspakam*); (5) one or two boys and the same number of girls (*Hakiwata*), and a young man stationed near them who sang special songs. The leaders (number not stated) had their faces painted half one color and half another, either horizontally or vertically divided. The clowns were painted in any grotesque manner they fancied. Each wore a feather headdress and a long tunic, and carried a crooked bow and arrow, also a pair of eagle feathers tied together, such as a doctor carries and uses when treating the sick. The latter insignia was not burlesque, as it was believed that any of these persons could benefit, if not cure, the sick. The office of clown was hereditary and there were usually one or more of them in each village. The dancers were also the singers and usually numbered about 40 or 50. They were the sons of singers and their performance was obligatory. The songs had been taught them by the old people whom they succeeded. They wore no clothing except the breechcloth, even sandals being forbidden, and their bodies were painted white, yellow, or red in solid color, no black being used in this ceremony. Men with "bull roarers" were important to the conducting of the ceremony, as they gave signals for assembling and for other events. A bull roarer consisted of a blade of cactus connected with a handle of greasewood by means of a cord about 3 feet in length. Holding the handle, a man swung the blade through the air. The specimen illustrated (pl. 15, *c*) is about the average size and has a blade 14 inches long. In former times the cord was made of the fiber of a plant called *aŏñta*. The blade was painted in any solid color.[31] Lumholtz states that the blade was painted with designs to represent corn. This instrument was one of the ceremonial articles that were kept from year to year.

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The ceremony was held at Arci, as already stated, and the people from each visiting village camped by themselves. The signal for assembling was given by the men with bull roarers, 60 or more of these being in use by the time the people entered the inclosure. The sound as they were swung through the air was said to be like thunder and "sounds in the clouds." If a man were accidentally hit by one

[30] This refers to the slender spikes or prongs at the top of the stalks of young corn.
[31] Cf. Handbook of American Indians, pt. 1, pp. 170-171.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

The following song was sung in order that the men might secure a good supply of salt. It was accompanied by the rubbing of a short stick on an inverted basket. The stick was of greasewood, about 9 inches long and an inch wide, slightly flattened. The motion across the fiber of the basket was up and down, producing a soft and rather pleasant sound.

533X
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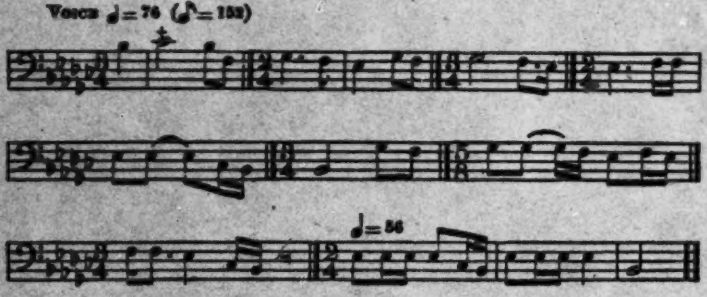
No. 121. Song Before an Expedition to Obtain Salt
(Catalogue No. 1010)

533X

Recorded by JOSE MANUEL



TRANSLATION

We are scraping the basket and singing,
We hear the echoes in all the mountains around us,
We will make a trip to the salt and are singing to make it easy for us to get it.

Analysis.—This song is minor in tonality but contains only one minor third. The major third occurs three times in descending progression, followed by a descending semitone which gives a peculiar and interesting effect. Almost one-third of the intervals are semitones, which is unusual in the songs under analysis. A change to a very slow tempo occurs in the closing measures.

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When making the trip to obtain medicine power a man was required to walk the entire distance. If he took a pack animal he was not allowed to ride it. He carried water and pinole but was allowed to eat and drink only a very little. Beside the salt bed was a little well in which the water was salt but not so salt as the ocean. On arriving at this well he might drink a very little water. Beside the well he left whatever he was carrying and ran four times around the salt bed, going from the east to the north, west, and south. He then crossed the dunes to the sea and ran to Hiamorli. This was a sand bar extending into the sea about 50 miles beyond the salt bed and was described as the "place where the water turns and runs into the place where they get the salt." A line of hills (sand dunes) extended

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

the dancers. The accompanying instrument was a basket, inverted on the ground in the middle of the circle and struck with the palm of the hand by men seated around it. Sometimes the basket was struck with both hands, but if several men were seated around it each struck it with his right hand.

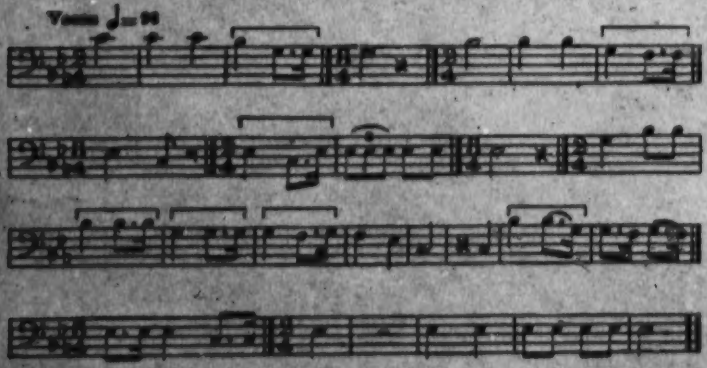
In the Bat dance the songs were sung by both men and women, the latter singing an octave higher. During a portion of the song one or two women took a high tone and sustained it as a drone, then descended to the pitch of the other women's voices, using several intermediate tones in the descent. It was said that only a few women could sing this drone, which appeared to be regarded as an embellishment to the song. (See p. 14.)

According to Hugh Norris the Bat dance originated with a man who was stricken with grief at the death of his wife. He was lying on the ground when he felt something touch him. The visitants told him that he would have this dance and would be happy when the people were dancing with him. They said, "Do you know what touched you? We are the bats." So he called it the Bat dance and he himself goes by the name of Bat. He received the first Bat dance songs in his dream.

No. 155. Opening Song of the Bat Dance

(Catalogue No. 1051)

Recorded by Jose Ascencio



TRANSLATION

Now the songs are going to begin and I am going away.
All over the mountains and on top of the mountains I sing.
Aje mountain, on top of it I am singing and walking around.

Analysis.—The first note of this song is the highest tone and the only occurrence of the keynote, a peculiarity noted also in No. 147. Five rests occur in the song, one being the duration of an entire measure. The phrases, as outlined by these rests, are from three to

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

796 material, considered by the Indians as its blanket, which, when the basket is in use, is placed on the ground for it to "sit" on.

Around these holy men and the fire and the long string of plumes that stretched across, danced men and women, holding each other by the hand and moving around in a circle. They marched in time, with firm steps, placing left foot behind right, and proceeding in this way against the sun's apparent movement. They all sang in [534] unison and in time with their steps, the leader swinging a rattle, and he and those nearest to him exerting their lungs to their fullest capacity. There were always two or three walking ahead of him, as everybody was eager to [533] be near the leader in order to catch the tune. In this advance guard there was also a female leader, a soprano. What a wealth of songs there is among these Indians! During the two nights new songs were presented all the time, not only new texts but even new, though somewhat similar, melodies. People were sitting or lying around the circle of dancers, stepping into it whenever their fancy moved them.

When four songs had been sung, taking about an [576] hour, a short pause was made, and the performers would sit down, many of them smoking. After a few minutes, only the leader would rise, and, standing in front of the jacal with his face toward the east, he would sing one verse of the song they were going to take up next, this time in a low voice, just to refresh their memories. Then he would step forward, dancing again and bursting forth into loud singing, immediately joined by the multitude in

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

796 lengthwise, while his legs are daubed in spots, the color
301 being afterward allowed to wear off. At the feast, the
536 numerous clowns perform pranks everywhere; they visit
796 the houses, offer food, and shoot at men disguised as
536 deer. During the dancing they keep in the middle of the dancing place. They neither sing nor talk, though they may do so if requested. If a clown breathes on a [755] sick man, the latter gets well. The mask when not used is kept in the house of the owner, usually in a covered earthen-ware jar. The dignity of the office, which does not imply the necessity of being a medicine-man, is confined to certain families, the father deciding which of his sons is to be the next clown.

796 On the wall in my lodging-room there was hanging
532 a different kind of mask, neatly made from a gourd, and painted. It is worn by a singer at the same great feast. I also secured this, and during the time spent at Santa Rosa valley I was fortunate enough to make quite a collection of such interesting objects. There are three sections of colors on the singers' masks symbolizing clouds of similar hues. The upper part is painted with red [326] ochre; then comes a black band which is produced by a mixture of sap from the mezquite and oxide of iron; the white band is made with chalk. The zigzags of the red section symbolize clouds, the dots are grains of corn. The designs on the white section denote clouds and lightning. The singers (*viinim*) have the same kind of rat-
796 tles as the clowns, consisting of a number of the small
534 bags spun by an insect (*attacus orizaba*), with a pebble inside of each, and attached to a band around the ankle.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

The band should be cut from the skin of a black dog, which is killed for the purpose in the practising enclosure. 796 534

The singer has the upper body nude, his trousers being turned up as high as possible and his feet bare. He wears no head-dress, but attempts to appear neatly attired, tying around the loins a colored bandanna or perhaps a shawl borrowed from his wife. Around the waist, the neck, and the upper part of the arm bright-colored strips of cloth are tied. His body is smeared with red ochre on which are spots of white, symbolizing grains of corn. 796 533 301

An important part of the singer's outfit is the bull-roarer, consisting of two flat pieces made of sahuaro rib, the smaller one being held by the hand when in use. The connecting string should be twine of native cotton, which still may be found in use. They are decorated with symbolic designs, such as those standing for lightning, clouds, turtles, grains of corn, expressing their desire for rain. The buzzing sound produced should be deep, in imitation of the thunder, which brings rain; if the sound is shrill, lightning only will follow. 796 534

The bull-roarer is swung for the purpose of calling people together and as a sign that the meeting is over, both at the preliminary exercises in the practising enclosure as well as at the feast itself. These buzzing implements not only open and conclude the proceedings, but they are used on the way from the practising house to the feast early in the morning, also when the cloud [202]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

796 symbols are carried about, and on similar occasions.
● 534 When not in use, the implement is tucked under the belt at the back. After the festival it is put away not to be used until the next feast takes place.

796 The singers are made up of the following four groups:
533 1. The people of Santa Rosa rancheria. Sikulhímat, Alõitak, and Kvítatk join with them.

2. The people of Kvívo rancheria. The San Xavier inhabitants join with these.

3. The people of Ánekam rancheria.

4. The people of Áktjin rancheria.

These four groups have different masks and at the head-quarters of each is a practising enclosure.

796 This great harvest festival lasts from morning till sunset. Ten days before the principal men begin the preparations, fasting at the same time and drinking water but once a day. Sometimes as many as fifty rancherias take part. Much noise is made in the evening before the feast is begun. Each group of rancherias sings different songs, in its turn, and every fourth year new songs are produced. At the Quitovac meeting the same songs are used year after year. The singers also dance with ceremonial objects in their hands, their songs being suited to the emblem carried.

796 Mr. Brownell, store-keeper and mine-owner at Brown-
178 ell, in the Quijotoa Range, was present at the last festival given, which was in December, 1908. Though unable to give me any descriptive detail, he assured me that it was an unusual performance in its magnitude and barbarous display of costume, paint, and ceremonials. A

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

[Facing p. 96]

PAPAGO ETHNOLOGY

a (Santa Rosa, height, 19 ctm.); *b* (Kvîvo); *c* (Ânekam); *d* (Âktjin): Singer's masks. On the red (upper) section the zigzags mean clouds, on the white (lower) section the zigzags mean clouds and lightning; dots symbolize grains of corn. *e*, length, 77 ctm.; *f*, length, 76 ctm.; *g*, length, 41 ctm.: Ancient wooden hoes from Anekam, used by women. *h*, twig of greasewood, used for scratching oneself when on salt expeditions; length, 18.7 ctm. *i*, bull-roarer; the triangles symbolize clouds; the lines (red) descending between the triangles indicate lightning, and the dots are corn, length of longest, 50.7 ctm. *k*, old Papago arrow, with obsidian point, from cave in Baboquivari range, total length, 1 metre. *l*, stick for bringing down saharo fruit; total length, 4 metres.

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7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

562 in fact, the "boss" of the household and gives her husband as well as her child his portion of food. She is systematic, while the man, in whom the characteristics of the hunter still survive, has little or no order. Her vigilant eyes look after everything and she is consulted in all transactions. The dogs follow the woman and be- [522] long to her, the husband rarely speaking to them.

581 Sometimes a young man will marry a woman more than old enough to be his mother since, under the changed conditions of the tribe, many of the young fellows do not know how to take care of themselves. He may work for an elderly woman who owns cattle and behave so much to her satisfaction that marriage results, and women have in this way been known to make manly men out of flippant youngsters. The children are treated [555] kindly by the parents and are kind to each other.

584 Formerly a bamboo flute was played by a young man, especially in the evening, to attract the attention [534] of a girl, though the ultimate choice of a partner rested with his father and mother. Up to recent times the sons were obedient to their parents and readily consented to marry the girls picked out for them. A son was instructed how to behave in order to find favor with a nice girl with whom appearances weigh little compared to the noble qualities of being a good hunter, not lazy, and an efficient agriculturist. It is the girl's father who makes the first advances in a matrimonial venture. He talks the matter over with the father of the boy who, however, sometimes may decline. But if the father is able to say that his son is willing, the latter betakes him-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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586 father of the girl would decide to whip her with a rope of rawhide to bring her to the proper way of thinking.

841 Certain periods of female life are looked upon with awe, even by the civilized Papago. If a hunter touches a woman at these times he will have bad luck or contract some disease. Formerly a girl in this condition could not touch her hair. If she wanted to scratch herself, it would have to be done with a stick, and even her 881 brother could not touch his hair. When the girls come of age, dancing and singing are kept up for many nights in succession in a very fatiguing fashion, as neither rest nor food is taken. No intoxicating drinks are partaken of, and one marvels at the exertions that primitive man finds it necessary to undertake in order that the girl may be started right in life. Formerly these ceremonies, each time lasting four nights, had to be performed on four occasions, and even thus the girl has to go for a few days' [343] seclusion to the *hobólikaki*, a house specially set apart for women considered temporarily impure. The dan- • 534 cing on such occasions consists of a forward and back- 881 ward rhythmical movement of two rows of men and women facing each other and at the same time slowly moving in a circle. The participants hold each other by the hand, and the movements are in time with the singing, four steps forward and four backward. In Quitovac where the Indians have been much influenced by the Mexicans, although they have given up the dancing part of the performances, the singing is kept up for eight nights or more in succession.

844 When the woman feels that her hour is approaching,

13:Davis E-5 (1920)1920 NU28 Papago NU28

booth sat four men, facing east, having in front of them large, bowl-shaped, coiled baskets, inverted. On the bottoms of the baskets rested the ends of a notched stick made of creosote wood, the other end being held in the left hand of the singer. In the right hand of each singer was held the half of a lower jaw of a peccary, a deer's shoulder-blade, and the shin-bones of a deer with the hoofs on. With these bones the singers rubbed the notched sticks up and down, producing thereby a hollow sound to the rhythm of the singing.

Immediately behind the singers sat an old Indian woman, her head wrapped in a red bandana, as the guardian of the basket containing the heart. The basket was 4½ ft. long, 1½ ft. wide, and 1 ft. deep, and was placed on a low platform behind her, and level with her shoulders. The series of songs or cantos dealt with the sun, moon, stars, the earth, creation, and the culture-hero "Montezuma." As the singers chant, the older Indians think they can hear a woman's voice, and say, "The heart is calling for its mate." The three priests from

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masks were painted in a black chevron pattern, the chevrons arranged in columns side by side, about an inch wide.

Attached to the back of the mask, below the clump of feathers and at about the base of the head, was a strap or panel of variously colored cloth or canvas, hanging free, usually about 4 to 6" wide, and reaching to the small of the back. This panel was fringed, usually with short turkey feathers, and had ornaments fastened to it. These ornaments were, variously, of tin, cut into diamonds, squares, or circles, of mirrors large and small, of cutout paper figures representing both a person picking sahuaro fruit and a curious human figure with what seemed to be horns on its head. One back strap had the chrome plated hub [177] shields of an Essex and Plymouth automobile fastened to it, brilliantly polished. Several had spread hawk wings tied to the panel edges in [825] place of the turkey feather fringe. Others had the tail feathers of the Western Red Tail Hawk arranged side by side across the bottom, with turkey feather fringe on the sides; another had the spread tail of a similar hawk tied across the bottom. The fringe of one strap was of the green imitation grass used in Christmas decorations. Another had, in place of the usual panel, a medallion about two feet in diameter, of long hawk or eagle feathers arranged radially about a small central disc, and attached to the headdress by a slender strap.

Many or all masks had a braid or twist of horsehair or human hair attached to each side, hanging down over the dancer's breast, and ornamented with tufts of red down or other bright plumes.

The dancers wore white garments reaching to the knees, usually sleeveless. Some of these shifts or tunics were opened up the side from hem to armhole, with overlapping edges apparently held closed by the belts which the men wore. Others wore plain tunics without the side opening. The belts were varied. Many were of wide canvas, with cowbells and dinner gongs tied to them. These sometimes had a fringe [534] of tinklers, made of cones of rolled tin five or six inches in length, hung by thread or copper wire from the lower edge of the belt. One man wore several immense brass bells, resembling sleighbells, three or more inches in diameter, on his belt. While most belts had a few bells, several were solidly hung with them.

Many dancers, in addition to a narrow belt with bells tied to it, wore fringed aprons, consisting of two roughly semi-circular pieces of canvas, one before and one behind, joined at the hips with string. One at least wore a black apron. Another dancer wore a cloth cartridge belt, with large wooden cartridges four inches long, painted red and blue, in the loops. At least one dancer wore a machete, in its scabbard, stuck through his belt. Some carried pouches attached to their tunics below the right breast, and several of these pouches looked suspiciously like ladies' handbags.

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

end of each, just before the tone stopped, a high pitched, clear, two syllabled call was sounded by a chorister, possibly by means of a whistle, which resembled a phrase of turkey or quail conversation. 796 533

During the first o-o-o-oh, the choristers raised the objects which they carried to armslength above their heads; during the second, they lowered them again to waist level. The dancers poised themselves at the end of the tune, and violently shook their hips during each o-o-o-oh poising again at attention between the two. The chorus repeated the song several times while standing in line, then trotted around the enclosure in silence, preceded by the running dancers, and entered it, giving their objects back to the old men and receiving new ones. 796 533 535

The objects which they carried varied with each period of dancing. No order or sequence in the distribution was noticed, though the cotton covered triangles, described below, were carried at intervals. These objects were, variously, slender wands 18" long or so, painted red with white banding; similar wands with desert grasses, possibly Indian wheat, tied around them at the top; slender wands, red, with balls made of raw cotton, about 4" in diameter, formed on the upper end, and with zigzag brown lines radiating from the top center and running down the sides; isosceles triangles held upright, the downward extension of the two long sides serving as handles, and the triangles filled in solidly with raw cotton, with a zigzag brown line on the front; husked ears of corn. 796 535 293

The chorus also carried, during one period, a flat, stretcher-like framework covered with white cloth, about eight feet in length, with rounded upper end, made by lashing light cross pieces to an outside frame. This was carried upright by several choristers, and the other choristers took sahuaro fruit-gathering sticks from the sides of the enclosure where they had been placed, and supported the frame with these hooking them over the top. These poles were about twelve feet long, with a short stick crossed near the top at an angle, the whole painted red. When the period ended, these poles were stuck back vertically into the arrowweed walls of the enclosure. [482] [412]

This dance lasted possibly an hour and a half. Towards the close, the old men inside brought out bundles of the objects, wrapped in burlap or blankets, and placed them in the wagons. They also brought out several bundles of clothing belonging to the dancers and put them also in wagons. Men also brought out gourd vessels, painted white with red designs trailing from the mouths, and placed them in the wagons. Several of these were wrapped in sacking. 796 [531]

At the close of the dance, the choristers took the cloth-covered framework and arranged themselves about it as if carrying a stretcher. The dancers grouped themselves at the forward end of the chorus, carrying the sahuaro poles, and they all set out down the road to Old Santa Rosa, to the southeast a couple of miles. While the chorus and dancers [482] 796 534

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 534 were forming thus in procession, boys and men, not in costume, brought out bull roarers, and these formed the vanguard, keeping the bull roarers whirling continually.

These bull roarers consisted of two pieces of wood, each about 18" long and about ¼" thick, an inch wide at the upper end and two or more inches wide at the outer end, which was cut to a short point. The pieces were attached to each other by a heavy cord five or six feet long. The sticks were painted, usually with red ochre, with geometric designs in white on them, of hachuring, diagonal lines, diamonds, or bands. A few were painted with white clay, with red decoration.

796 [492] The wagons fell into line behind the dancers and chorus, some twelve or fifteen of them, dogs and colts trailing along, young bucks on horseback riding up and down. A little over half way to old Santa Rosa the procession halted, and the dancers and chorus marched into a field to the left of the road. Here they rested a few moments, while the men got water to drink, and then sang and danced there in the field for about half an hour. Dancers and choristers alike broke ranks as they pleased and went into the brush, resuming the dance when they returned. The chorus did not march during this dance, although the song was the same as before, but formed in two lines facing each other, one on either side of the framework, which had been laid on the ground. The dancers were grouped just to the north of the ranks. We did not see whether or not the chorus carried any objects during this dance. At the end of this time the procession formed again and resumed its way, preceded by the men and boys with bull roarers.

Just before reaching the plaza at old Santa Rosa, the procession stopped, the wagons going on to the dance ground, the dancers and chorus remaining in formation while girls came running with blankets. They held the blankets up, apparently to shield the dancers from view of the crowds in the plaza. After a wait of half an hour or so, the dancers moved to the north edge of the plaza and halted again, still screened by the blankets, which were held before and about the group during this last short march.

Another group of dancers was gathered on the opposite side of the plaza 300 yards or so to the south, screened behind brush.

We were told by Papagoes that a similar dance was held that noon both in old Santa Rosa and in new Santa Rosa, and that both the Anegam and old Santa Rosa groups were now waiting for the new Santa Rosa group to arrive. During this wait the Anegam men lay down on the ground and rested.

796 417 The dance ground here was laid out between two NW-SE trending lines of houses, a hundred or more yards apart. A square enclosure of cane and tall arrowweed, neatly tied between horizontal poles into

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

walls about eight feet in height, had an entrance in the centre of the east side, and was oriented so that the sides lay NxS, ExW, respectively. This enclosure was about 30' along each side. Directly west of this and probably fifty feet away was a lean-to open to the east and west, measuring perhaps 12' across the entrance, and 10' deep. Between this and the enclosure was the dance ground proper, about which the chorus marched in a circle about 30' in diameter, as described below. 796 417 [343]

In front of the entrance to the enclosure, distant 30' or so, was a great pile of mesquite logs. About three P.M. small groups of gaily dressed women and girls, one group from the Anegam villagers and one from the old Santa Rosa, ran to the pile of wood. Each woman took up a piece and ran to the enclosure and left it, running out and making a complete circuit of the enclosure before running off the dance ground to her own people. This was done to the accompaniment of much laughter and gaiety among the crowds of women and spectators. Later, just before four P.M., and the beginning of the dance, after the new Santa Rosa dancers had arrived, this was repeated. 796

Meanwhile, many wagons had arrived, ranging in a great crescent about the west side of the dance ground, with the lean-to as center. School busses full of children from Sells Day Schools drove up, and several truck and trailer loads of Papago cotton pickers, brought in by white men from the direction of Casa Grande. [493]

At four P.M. the new Santa Rosa dancers and chorus, who had arrived shortly before, drew up in front of the enclosure, where they were joined by the local dancers and chorus. The Anegam group moved up to within 30 yards or so and halted. A crowd of men, mostly young men and a few boys, assembled, all with bull roarers, and raised a tremendous noise. The combined groups of dancers then trotted and ran around the enclosure several times, accompanied by the wielders of the bull roarers as well as by men and boys who ran alongside, laughing and shouting. The dancers clowned all through this, shaking their bells and cutting up in comical fashion. [522]

The choruses of the two groups dashed inside the enclosure, without running around it, carrying their equipment, and remained inside. The Anegam group joined in after the others had made several circuits, the chorus going directly inside the enclosure.

Then, the choruses inside, the dancers outside, singing began within. It seemed the choruses remained separate inside the enclosure, one in the SE quarter, one in the NE, and one in the NW quadrant. These choruses sang the same song as that sung at Anegam, but not in unison, each chorus singing independently of the others. The masked dancers outside stationed themselves in groups, one outside each corner within which a chorus was singing, and kept time, shuffling and stamping and jumping, to the chorus opposite which they were stationed. Dancers [533] 796 534

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

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from each group continually broke ranks and ran to the next, hesitating as if to catch the new rhythm, and joining in, only to break again in a moment or so. When darkness fell, most of the dancers were gathered on the north side of the enclosure near the NW corner, although a few were at each of the other two corners. This was all accompanied by much clowning and grotesque pantomiming, with hilarity in the crowd of onlookers, now numbering several hundred Papagoes.

After dark, about eight P.M., the number of dancers seemed to diminish, and many were running about over the plaza and among the crowds. We were told by a Pima that the masked dancers did individual dances before the camp fires of many or all of the Indian families gathered there, and asked for food. This received, the dancer put it in his pouch and ran with it back to the enclosure, where it was placed in the common supply for the dancers during the night. Within the enclosure six fires were blazing, about which throughout the night the dancers and chorus and onlookers warmed themselves. At four A.M. the dance stopped, the performers presumably getting some rest, and was not resumed till just before seven A.M., at sunrise. During the early hours of the morning, at least, only one chorus was singing, and few dancers were about.

The plaza was a colorful place Friday night, scores of camp fires blazing, masked dancers jingling about among the wagons and here and there in the darkness of the plaza new arrivals, in wagons and in cars, coming up and making camp, the singing continuous, with the repeated o-o-o-oh at the end of the tunes affecting us much as does the never-ending beat of the drums at other Indian ceremonies.

Before daylight the camp fires were burning brightly, lighting the great crescent of closely spaced wagons; a few babies cried here and there, and the soft pat-pat of women making tortillas was a monotone underlying all the varied sounds of the encampment. Horses whickered in the fields about the village, and now and then a mule brayed. The dancers were silent, save for an occasional jangle of bells as some dancer joked and postured for his friends about a fire.

The sun rose behind clouds, a brilliant dawn turning to a grey, cold morning. As the light grew stronger, but before the sun was surely above the desert ranges, the dancers began to gather in front of the enclosure. Just before seven A.M. they marched, jangling bells and cavorting in high spirits to the dance ground between the enclosure and the lean-to, and there broke ranks and gathered with the crowd of spectators on the south side of the dance floor. Visitors came running from all sides to the spot where they were, and we could not find out what was happening. A Papago, camped beside us, suggested that a fight was going on, but the crowd was quiet and orderly, though interested, and we were inclined to discount his opinion. Soon, however, the dancers broke away from the crowd and ran to the entrance of the enclosure, where they waited for the chorus to appear. There were now two choruses only,

VIKITA CEREMONY OF THE PAPAGO (CONT.)

796 533 four seconds apart. Throughout the afternoon he pulled a stick across a notched and concave piece of wood supported between two of the baskets, in the same tempo. He held the far end of the notched stick firmly against the basket with his left hand, and pulled the other stick toward him with his right. The movements were evenly spaced, but abrupt.

796 534 The two boys, arms stiff at sides, extended them slightly at one drum beat, and returned them to position at the next. The girls bent a little at the knees at one beat, and straightened at the next. The denim-clad attendant watched over these four like a hawk, correcting the angle at which the girls held the corn, or the boys their bows and arrows, tilting their heads up if they drooped, and wiping their faces [516] carefully with a cloth every few minutes. These four, at intervals of possibly half an hour, were helped to a kneeling position by the attendant, where they remained, heads bowed and eyes closed, for perhaps ten minutes. At the end of this time the attendant carefully helped them to their feet again.

796 The men in white walked up and down at intervals in front of these four, and spectators were seen to walk with them on several occasions. What they or the spectators did we could not find out. Many of the [781] people in the crowd watched these performers in the lean-to with great interest and respect, and the whole atmosphere of this part of the ritual was that of solemnity, in contrast to the clowning of the dancers.

796 293 532 During the morning, the chorus carried many different objects, including several elaborate floats. In addition to the objects carried by the chorus at Anegam, there were red staves about 6' long, with bundles of grass, resembling ears of corn, tied to them at intervals. Similar staves were carried at another time, with the addition of what seemed to be imitation corn tassels on the top of each one. Husked ears of corn were carried at least once. Each of these different objects was carried more than once during the day, notably the "cloud symbols" which were carried at more or less regular intervals.

The first float was a well stuffed deer standing on a stretcher-like framework of poles. The dancers prepared for his appearance with a great hullabaloo and much pantomiming, some crouching and aiming their guns, others pretending to set up blinds of grass, others stalking the deer and hunting for tracks. When the deer appeared, and during the marching, the dancers aimed at it with guns and bows or touched it with lances. The men with guns pretended to place the charges or to clean the barrels with their ram rods. The crowd applauded all this with much excited talk and many jests, answered several times by dancers who ran at the crowd and scattered the onlookers with fierce charging and warlike gestures. The chorus carried tiny bows and arrows painted red, held at the draw, each chorister aiming his arrow upwards to the left.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Papago musical instruments were the drum, the scraping stick, the gourd rattle, and the flute; cocoon and deer hoof rattles were used occasionally. The basket drum was the ordinary food bowl inverted and could be struck with the palm of the hand or with a stick, or used as a resonator under the scraping stick. Scraping sticks differed in the depth and frequency of the notches according to the songs for which they were used. Scraping stick songs were designed to avert evil and to bring rain, and these required a stick of ironwood *(Olneya tesota)* slightly concave and with far-spaced, deep notches which produced a loud rattle. A series of minor songs concerned an imaginary being, *pihuri*, who caused and cured sore eyes. These required a straight stick of sahuaro rib *(Carnegia gigantea)* with shallow, close-spaced notches, giving a much softer sound.

The rattle was a dried bottle-gourd fruit *(Lagenaria vulgaris)*, which desert Papagos do not now raise but get from the Altar valley. The fruits were dried, freed of their seeds and pulp, and these replaced by gravel. A handle was then made of peeled creosote bush wood *(Covillea glutinosa)* thrust through the gourd until its end just protruded, and fastened at both perforations with mesquite "gum" *(Prosopis velutina)*.

The flute is used only by individuals and never in ceremonies as is the basket drum. The only one seen was a vertical flageolet of a reed (probably *Phragmites communis)*, cut so that a joint came in the exact middle of its length; over this joint was a hole half an inch long which was closed when playing by tying a cloth over it. In the distal end were three holes which the fingers played upon.

534 301 White cocoons are picked from desert bushes, filled with fine gravel, and strung on buckskin thongs, and these are worn around the ankle, knee, and waist in certain ceremonies. Deer hoof rattles are no longer worn.